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ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

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534 562 773 778 complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *eksó* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 562 778 831 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly [688] symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

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but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karôkô is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at